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whose desert economy and social organization have collapsed; and

b. that of the romanticists who are more interested in saving the "noble" Bedouin society than suggesting alternate means of livelihood for the nomads who have suffered a serious economic crisis.

These two approaches to the Bedouin problem are reflected in and interesting and instructive argument between Elisha Epstein and Major J. C. Glubb in connection with recent changes among the nomads of Transjordan.[1] Epstein stated that there has been since the end of World War I a progressive impoverishment among the Bedouin of Transjordan. The pastoral economy, based on camel-breeding and sheep-raising, has according to him undergone a serious crisis because the camel cannot hold its ground in the face of competition with modern means of transportation. Sheep-raising, on the other hand, is more profitable when practiced in permanent settlements which do not have to suffer livestock losses on account of raids. Epstein further points out that Bedouin migrations have become restricted since the boundary lines were drawn in the desert. In times of drought the nomads cannot move their animals any more, simply by moving them into regions where rains are more abundant. Raiding which constituted an additional source of income for the Bedouin has been outlawed. Epstein's

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1. Epstein, 1936, pp. 228-236
Glubb, 1938, pp. 448-454
Epstein, 1939, pp. 177 seq.

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answer to the problems of the Bedouin is their rapid settlement on land.

Glubb stated that the economic condition of the Transjordan tribesmen is not critical. In the old days the Bedouin had to rely on the merchants who used to come into the desert, purchase the camels and take them to the market. The establishment of public security has enabled the Bedouin to take their animals across the territory of hostile tribes and sell them directly, thus cutting out the middle-man's share of the profit. While the demand for camels for long-distance transport has been reduced, the camel market has according to Glubb not been destroyed. There is still a considerable demand for camels to be used in agricultural work. The chief customer, however, is the butcher's shop, particularly in Egypt where camel's meat is consumed in great quantities. Sheep always enjoy a ready market. The tribesmen seem poor to many Europeans, but the Bedouin of Transjordan are financially more prosperous than most Oriental peasants, and they enjoy more material comforts than they did before the First World War.

Glubb is critical of Epstein's view that the drought years of 1931 and 1932 have made the issue of Bedouin settlement in Transjordan urgent. Otherwise the statements of Glubb lack realism. He is gravely concerned about that modern civilization may do to a 'simple, smiling people.' Glubb represents the view of the British 'romanticists' who deplore the vanishing of the 'glorious' desert-tent Bedouin society.

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648 Political authorities have made no serious efforts to inter-
221 fere with tribal migrations which follow the law of economic need. The governments stopped raiding, but not grazing.

With the establishment of public security, tribal movements have been facilitated where fears of attack may have prevented them before.[1]

Economics of raiding, plunder and extortion as affecting Bedouin economy

721 Raids fulfilled a definite economic function in Bedouin
434 society. Especially in times of drought, the booty taken in raids constituted, according to the Bedouin way of thinking a welcome means of income. In reality, however, the desert people did not suffer a great economic loss from the stoppage of raiding. In speaking of raiding Major Glubb correctly states that "some become rich, some were ruined; there is a net loss on the whole."[2]

More significant was the economic loss incurred to the Bedouin when imposition of khuwa was outlawed.

434 The economic situation of the Bedouin on the whole was not
131 seriously affected by the establishment of political boundary lines and enforcement of public security. Economic adjustments were made within the pastoral economy where the decline of the demand for the camel made this necessary.

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1. However, in spite of the vigorous actions of the Saudi regime raiding in the Arabian Desert has not yet been completely stopped.
2. Glubb, 1935, p. 22

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In our days sedentarization is the product of the nomad's contact with settled society during the regular periods of his encampment on the outskirts of the cultivated land.

At present, the tribal population of Syria, Iraq, Palestine (Israel) and Transjordan (Jordan) is in all stages of transition to a sedentary existence. A. S. Kirkbridge has outlined [1] the various stages that the Transjordan nomad passes on his journey to the settled life of an agriculturalist. With insignificant changes the description of the steps can be made applicable to the process of sedentarization as a whole.

Stages of Sedentarization

1. The true desert Bedouin, raising mainly camels, [2] lives in a world where nature makes cultivation impossible. He migrates in accordance with the existence of water and grazing and supplements his meager income by raiding if conditions permit. He despises the villagers.
2. In spite of the contempt that the Bedouin have for the settled peasants they come to realize that the fellah lives a more comfortable life and enjoys a better diet, compared to the standards of the nomad.
3. The next step is the occupation of cultivable land by the nomadic tribe. Agriculture is practiced only as a

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1) Kirkbridge, 1945, March-April
2) Kirkbridge does not discuss the Bedouin that come from Arabia subsisting exclusively on camel-breeding. Since practically all Transjordanian nomads have crossed the first stage, the conversion of exclusive camel economy to mixed pastoral economy of sheep and camel-breeding.

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622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Fedʿan-Beled increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Shammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyra. In 193 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyra, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. [illegible], 1935, p. 106
2. Britain, 1940, p. 77
3. Report, 1931, pp. 99-100

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economical needs of the tribes. 000

This policy aimed at introducing improvements into the 178
Bedouin mode of living without changing it. 185

Some of the sheikhs made serious attempts to settle the 622
tribesmen on their estates. The Haddidyin began in the 30's 427
to cultivate on the estates of their sheikh.[1] Rakun, the 166X
sheikh of the Shu'a, has been consistently trying to make the
members of his tribe engage in agriculture.[2]

Apart from minor successes the attempts of sedentarization were largely premature. While economic changes and a taste for modern living induced a great number of the sheikhs to abandon nomadism and settle down, the majority of the tribesmen preferred to continue their pastoral activities and their tradition of migrations. Even economic disasters in the desert did not appreciably accelerate the pace of their sedentarization.

In 1931, for example, the Syrian Bedouin lost 30 - 40 per 233
cent of their animals in the wake of inclement weather conditions.[3] 434
1931/32 was also a season of exceptional drought when certain
tribes lost 50 per cent of their camels and 80 per cent of their
sheep.[4] The desert was strewn with animals that died of hunger. 166X
The critical situation among the tribes prompted the French
Mandatory Government[5] to encourage the nomads to settle down to an agricultural life. Fertile land and implements were freely dis-

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1. Opposition, 1939, p. 298
2. Ibid., p. 85
3. Rapport, 1931, p. 98
4. Rapport, 1932, p. 91
5. The French High Commission maintained a special tribal service

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in ever-increasing numbers from as far away as Najran and Dhaufar. They go there at present with the intention of collecting enough money to buy a camel or two, so that they can build up a new herd, or perhaps marry, when they return to their homelands, but I think that every year an increasing number will settle down more or less permanently round the oilfields.

In the desert the Badu need very little to keep themselves alive. Their herds provide them with milk, butter, and occasionally with meat, but they have certain requirements which they cannot supply for themselves. They need cloth and cooking pots, knives, ammunition, an occasional load of dates or grain, and such simple luxuries as a handful of coffee or a little tobacco. To get these things they visit the villages or towns and sell a goat, a little butter, water skins, rugs, and ropes. Life in the desert ceases, however, to be physically possible if the few but entirely essential commodities that the desert Arab has hitherto been able to buy in exchange for the products of the desert become too expensive for him to afford, but the rise in the standard of living along the Persian Gulf is bound to send up the price of food and clothing, and the slightest rise is now fatal to the desert economy. For the Badu have already lost several important resources. In the past, desert transport was in their hands, but now lorries have largely replaced camels. There was also a constant demand in the towns and villages for good riding camels, which were hired by the nomads, and sheikhs would pay big prices for the best breeds. Now most of the villagers and townsmen drive about in cars. Two years ago, when I and my companions rode from Sulayil to Laila along the motor road, the villagers asked us why we did not go in cars "like the Muslamin." A Badui often loses all or nearly all his animals from disease, but where the tribes are still unadministered he can borrow a mount and join a raiding party and perhaps repair his fortunes. In unadministered areas they can also levy a certain amount of blackmail off the villagers, and the village sheikhs are prepared to keep on good terms with the tribes by giving them presents and much hospitality. Badu, however, meet with little sympathy from modern and progressive Arab administrators, who regard them as representing an outlook and way of life which they are anxious to abolish.

The Badu love money; even to handle it seems to give them a thrill, and I have often thought that when they are talking in their sleep they must be counting piles of dollars. Yet I have never had a single dollar stolen on my journeys, though my money has always been carried in unsealed bags distributed at random among the saddle-bags of my companions. The Badu are always obsessed with tales of buried treasure. There is *dhahab* (gold) to be found here and *dhahab* to be found there, under sand dunes, rocks, or even in the middle of quicksands. So naturally the oilfields draw them like a magnet from all over Arabia, and, once there, they find that they can get money for sitting in the shade and guarding something, or for doing work which is certainly easier than watering thirsty camels on a nearly dry well in the middle of summer. There is plenty of good food, abundant sweet water, and long hours for sleep. They have seldom had these things before, and now they are being